

A CHRISTIAN NEWSLETTER ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
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VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS EXCHANGED BY CHURCH LEADERS FROM U.S.A. AND U.S.S.R.

A full schedule of conferences took place from March 13 to March 20 between leaders of churches in the U.S.A. and in the Soviet Union, with opportunities for attendance at services in the Patriarchate Cathedral and in the Baptist Church, where U.S. delegates also led in worship, a visit to the theological seminary at Zagorsk, visits to other churches, tours of art galleries and attendance at concert and ballet performances.

A more extensive report of the visit is planned for the next issue of the Newsletter, with a brief account here of parts of two sessions where questions of peace and international affairs were discussed, as items in a comprehensive agenda.

After agreement on the agenda, the first major conversation took place on March 14 at a roundtable in the 100 year old Patriarchate. Metropolitan Nikolay who directs foreign affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, represented the Russian Church to converse through an interpreter with the nine U.S. churchmen. Opening statements were made by President Eugene Carson Blake of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. as head of the delegation and by Metropolitan Nikolay. Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk read a statement outlining the determination of the churches of the National Council to work for world justice and peace, including the following seven points about the churches' beliefs and efforts:

- 1) Belief that peace is the by-product of truth, freedom and righteousness;
- 2) Steadfast support of the United Nations;
- 3) Urging the UN to keep open doors of international negotiation with the hope that tensions between the U.S.A. and Russia may be eased;
- 4) Support of efforts for international control of atomic energy and multilateral control of armaments through the UN;
- 5) Believing economic security is essential to just peace, we supported the European Recovery Program as a humanitarian endeavor, not a hostile act against Russia;
- 6) Support establishment and safeguarding of human rights;
- 7) Support goal of autonomy for all subject and colonial peoples.

Dr. Van Kirk said further that the churches will do everything possible to keep alive the hopes engendered by the Geneva Conference and to forge a bond of (to p.2)

IN THIS ISSUE

- 1 - Views on International Affairs Exchanged by Church Leaders, USA and USSR
- 2 - Overseas Churches, Ecumenical Scholars Exchange Get Globe-Circling Care
- 3 - Outlines of New U.S. Foreign Policy Beginning to Appear?
- 5 - Middle East Plan is proposed to the UN by the U.S.A.
- 6 - Disarmament Consultations in UN; "Friend of World's Children" - UNICEF
- 7 - What Are You Doing? Reports of Communions, Councils and Churches
- 8 - Resources: Booklet; Recording; Kit; Radio Contest

enduring friendship between the two countries.

Extended discussion followed concerning the World Peace Council and past statements of Russian churchmen that appeared to the U.S.A. churchmen to be consistently in harmony with Soviet policies. The deputation emphasized that there can be no understanding without truth and that there was need to correct some statements made about American churches by the Russian Orthodox Church during the Korean action.

Metropolitan Nikolay replied that there had been a time of tension then between the two countries which he insisted must now be forgiven and forgotten.

Bishop Sherrill of the National Council delegation said, "We have to say what we believe is the truth in love. If we had not wished for understanding, we would not have come." On that note conversations adjourned for the day.

In subsequent sessions, according to previous plans, Metropolitan Nikolay was joined by four Orthodox Church leaders and representatives of the Baptist, Lutheran and Armenian churches.

In a conversation on March 17 in a conciliatory statement, Metropolitan Nikolay said the Orthodox Church wished to work together with all Christians in developing peace and that the Russian Orthodox Church had achieved "complete concurrence" with the visiting delegation from churches in the U.S.A. on the problem of safeguarding peace. The National Council leaders had sharply rejected implications that all genuinely peace-loving forces were in the communist-sponsored World Peace Council and had said there was no possibility of cooperation on the basis of "untrue statements" about the United States made by Soviet religious leaders at the "peace congress" in Moscow in 1952. When the Russian churchmen seemed to abandon the former attitude toward the United States, Dr. Blake told correspondents that this was an encouraging first step in establishing fruitful relations between church groups in the two countries.

Positions of the Russian Orthodox Church as enunciated by Metropolitan Nikolay were: Demand for a halt in hydrogen weapons tests and the "armaments race;" overthrow of the colonial system; aid to underdeveloped countries; and an easing of tension.

In reply, Dr. Van Kirk said the churches of the U.S.A. as represented in the National Council believe that peace is impossible without the observance of human rights and "uncoerced self-determination" by nations able to govern themselves. Further, he said, they reject the idea that control of nuclear weapons can be isolated from the general problem of disarmament.

In terms of continuing efforts toward cooperation Dr. Van Kirk told the Russian church leaders that further talks would be required before a "common Christian witness" for peace could be developed. Exchanges of views will be continued when a delegation of Russian church leaders visit the United States early in June.

OVERSEAS CHURCHES AND ECUMENICAL SCHOLARSHIP EXCHANGES GET GLOBE-CIRCLING CARE

Dr. Robbins W. Barstow, Executive Director of the National Council of Churches' American churches overseas program, is making a nine-weeks', round-the-world tour to confer with leaders of the program in 17 countries. The English language churches serve a major portion of the estimated 600,000 Americans living abroad. Dr. Barstow will also consult with overseas leaders of the Ecumenical Scholarship Exchange program, which he heads in this country, through which some 50 advanced theological students are brought to the U.S. each year for graduate study.

OUTLINES OF NEW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY BEGINNING TO APPEAR?

Increasingly the communist penetration by trade, economic aid, technical missions, goodwill visits, and diplomatic offensive mounts through the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa, as analyzed in the Newsletter in November and followed up monthly since. The U.S. position for many months has relatively, in general remained static or deteriorated in those areas. Do recent actions of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have significance as to whether our government will develop a more dynamic and adequate foreign policy to meet the new situation, particularly in underdeveloped areas?

In his State of the Union Message (Jan. 5), the President said: "The sum of our international effort should be this: "The waging of peace, with as much resourcefulness, with as great a sense of dedication and urgency, as we have ever mustered in defense of our country in time of war. In this effort, our weapon is not force. Our weapons are the principles and ideas embodied in our historic traditions, applied with the same vigor that in the past made America a living promise of freedom for all mankind."

Subsequent budget recommendations of the President to Congress for the fiscal year beginning July 1956 are: For U.S. military appropriations, (January 16), over \$35 billion. Under the mutual security program, (March 19), for military aid to our allies overseas, \$4,055,700,000 (of this \$2,925 million for direct military outlay, and \$1,130,700,000 for defense support); the sum total for all non-military-related funds for economic aid, development funds, technical assistance, even including U.S. participation in the UN and its related agencies, less than \$1 billion, namely, \$804,275,000. In other words, the total of the proposed U.S. program for next year for economic aid, technical assistance, and international cooperation of non-military nature is less than 1/40th of the amount proposed for military forces and their support at home and overseas.

A new feature of the President's recommendations is the request of authority by Congress "to make commitments up to 10 years in length to assist less developed countries in long term projects important to their development. Funds to fulfill such commitments would come from appropriations for non-military mutual security, and would not exceed an aggregate of \$100,000,000 in any year."

Recommendations for this year represent approximately the same level of expenditures for regular aid and technical assistance programs as in recent years, namely, about \$500 million. Last year's request included an additional \$100 million in a special presidential fund which was not spent. The President requests a similar appropriation for next year, and in addition, a new fund of \$100 million "to be available for use in the Middle East or Africa for non-military security programs which will advance the cause of free world security and economic strength." Requested also for the President's Fund for Asian Economic Development was that \$100 million, as authorized in 1955 also be appropriated for 1956.

It is also illuminating to contrast the levels of non-military aid with the actual needs which should be usefully met in terms of economic assistance and development funds. Conservative economic estimates on the expanding economies of the underdeveloped areas indicate that a total each year of approximately $\$1\frac{1}{2}$ - \$2 billion for the next five years is the level of required investments compared to U.S. current and proposed programs approximating less than one third of that.

When all these figures are scrutinized as above, in light of the changed tactics of the communist offensive in competitive coexistence, and in light of the President's plea for an all-out "waging of peace," is necessity evident for a new "agonizing re-appraisal" of our foreign policy? A cabinet member is quoted during this past month as saying "We don't have a foreign economic policy. We have 49 foreign economic policies. The whole thing has to be pulled together and given more coordination at the top." Does

all the above mean that, while maintaining adequate military strength, our government should be reappraising the relative emphases and the magnitude demanded in constructive overseas programs in the present situation, then make a dynamic new thrust of world leadership in terms of economic, technical, psychological and diplomatic initiative?

At the least, church members across the country who have heretofore consistently advocated and upheld programs of economic aid and technical assistance because of both Christian principle and enlightened national self-interest, must now give vocal support to preserve as much as possible of the President's minimal proposals. Already a number of influential voices in the Senate and House have been raised against the President's proposals, both as to size and long-term aspects. Every year in recent sessions Congress has cut the amount proposed made by the President for foreign aid. The outlook this year is at best no brighter. Christians and others who believe in larger programs of economic aid and technical assistance, or even in maintaining present inadequate levels, have their work cut out for them in informing their Senators and Representatives of such public opinion immediately, before Congressional action.

STRAWS IN THE WIND PRESAGING A POSSIBLE NEW INITIATIVE IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY?

Certain developments within the month indicate that the government may have begun to articulate the problems in the new era of competitive coexistence with the change in communist tactics. A few straws may indicate new efforts by our government to deal with the realities of the communist competition and the needs in the underdeveloped areas which the U.S.A. should be seeking to meet regardless of any communist threats: The extended tour by Secretary Dulles, not seeking new military ties, but strenuously giving of himself to assure leaders in the rising nations of Southeast Asia of the essential goodwill of the U.S. His strenuous itinerary included capitals of 10 nations for conference with heads of state and foreign ministers. Of particular significance were: The assurance to Nehru that our support for Pakistan did not mean U.S. backing for aggression by Pakistan against our friends in India. The personal invitation for Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Sukarno of Indonesia to visit President Eisenhower and the U.S. In Indonesia Mr. Dulles made clear to some of our hesitant friends in Asia that U.S. aid in non-military categories is given on its merits as aid and not on the basis of political or military considerations; at the same time he made a frontal attack upon the concept of "neo-colonialism." He gave assurances of U.S. support to friends elsewhere, as in Thailand and Vietnam and in Japan in her efforts to become more stabilized through expanding trade.

Another significant development in the relationship of the U.S. to underdeveloped areas was the decision Mr. Dulles announced in Manila that the Philippines had been chosen as the site for a U.S. financed regional atomic research center for Asia. This is to serve the Asian member countries in the Colombo Plan, from Pakistan to Japan. Ceylon was also offered an atomic research reactor, adequate supplies of uranium, and technical assistance for atomic developments under the U.S. "atoms-for-peace program," in conference with Premier Sir John Kotellawala in Ceylon.

Another development suggesting some possible new moves in foreign policy is in multilateral arrangements being made to sell U.S. surplus to one country which pays money with interest into a fund, regarded as a loan from the U.S., which that country in turn uses to finance her exports to underdeveloped nations. Five European countries are now participating in such programs, with Japan selected for a large scale experiment related to under-developed areas of Asia.

Some significance may attach to the fact that U.S. Ambassadors and diplomatic officials stationed in 14 Asian nations met in their annual session in Tokyo at the time Secretary Dulles concluded his trips to the Asian capitals and conferred with him there.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PLAN IN PROPOSED TO THE UN BY THE U.S.A.

Amid rising tensions and fears concerning developments in the Middle East, the U.S.A. called upon UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold on March 21 to make new, urgent efforts to bring peace there. The proposal set forth a 3-point plan for consideration by the Security Council: 1. Withdrawal of all forces from both sides of the demarcation lines. 2. Granting full freedom of movement for UN observers along the demarcation lines and in defensive areas. 3. Establishment of local arrangements for prevention of incidents and for prompt detection of armistice violations. The Secretary General will likely make another trip to this area, if the Security Council approves the proposal, in order to survey all aspects of compliance with the four 1949 armistice agreements between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and to arrange "after discussion with the parties" any measures he considers would reduce tension along demarcation lines. The Secretary General would report to the Security Council within a month.

The U. S. resolution noted with grave concern that previous UN peace recommendations had not been accepted despite long efforts. It also expressed fears that developments there might endanger international peace and security. It is understood that Britain and France are in basic agreement on the proposal sponsored by the U.S.A.

U.S. policy toward Arab-Israeli problems was reiterated in a letter by Secretary Dulles on February 6 in reply to a joint letter from a group of Congressmen. Among others, it made these points: The preservation of the State of Israel; the principle of maintaining our friendship with Israel and the Arab States; the security of Israel can perhaps better be assured by means other than an arms race; far more effective than any amount of arms is the deterrent to any potential aggressor in the combined influence of the nations under the United Nations Charter and Tripartite Declaration of the U.S.A., and France; while not excluding possibility of arms sales to Israel, our government holds that the security of states in the Near East cannot rest upon arms alone but rather upon the international rule of law and upon the establishment of friendly relations among neighbors, and we are actively working toward that.

OUTLINES OF NEW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY BEGINNING TO APPEAR? (Continued from page 4)

As a result of his many conferences, a high source said, Mr. Dulles concluded that U.S. economic policy needed changing; the source did not indicate specifics: another source reported that no basic change in American policy was expected. It was reported also that he was convinced that the U.S. needs a "more flexible" foreign economic policy to counter the new communist drive. What policy changes may result in the near and far future from this tour of Secretary Dulles are not clear at this writing. Possible hint of Mr. Dulles' reactions may be seen in the report of Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu that in the conference with him and Premier Hatoyama Mr. Dulles made two main points: 1. The free world can check any future communist military aggression. 2. The free world must make fresh efforts to counter the communist economic and cultural offensive abroad.

Pending whatever specific proposals of new initiative and imagination in U.S. foreign policy may grow out of the events of these recent weeks by U.S. officials at home and in Southeast Asia, some of the President's statement and the very fact of the Secretary's arduous tour of goodwill and expressions of U.S. concern for many nations and peoples in the underdeveloped areas of the world may give some ground for hope as to the possibilities of a more dynamic foreign policy on the part of our government.

Church members who continue to follow these issues of U.S. foreign policy may well express at this time their commendation for such things as they can support and their concern for such things as yet must be undertaken by our government if it is to carry forward responsible moral leadership in world affairs.

DISARMAMENT CONSULTATIONS RENEWED IN UN SUBCOMMITTEE IN LONDON

In a spirit of cautious optimism, shared by the British, French and Canadian delegations, the U.S.A. team, headed by Harold E. Stassen is reported to be a bit more hopeful over the chances of progress than at any previous time, as the UN Subcommittee on Disarmament resumed its work in London, March 19. The other party to these deliberations is the U.S.S.R.; the head of their delegation, Andrei A. Gromyko, said "We hope that something very useful will come out of this conference." The presiding officer, Anthony Nutting, British Minister of State, called for replacement of "mutual terror by mutual trust," saying that agreement on an arms-reduction program would give "the greatest possible impetus to the settlement of all other political problems."

France and Britain had developed a most comprehensive proposal which was set forth near the start of deliberations. On March 21 the U.S.A. outlined a new proposal, to open up to 30,000 square miles of American and Russian territory to a pilot scheme of disarmament control, with inspection teams representing the five powers on the UN Subcommittee. The demonstration areas would include at least one seaport, an airfield, a railroad terminal and some non-secret military installation, facilities and units. Mr. Stassen also proposed that these five countries exchange technical missions to study disarmament control and inspection methods. The teams would visit each country with the aim of devising an effective system of checking disarmament processes, without delving into "secret" information. Operation of the plan would hinge on the conclusion of a general disarmament pact sponsored by the UN, setting up appropriate machinery and binding member nations to renounce use of nuclear weapons except in defense. Subsequently, Mr. Stassen proposed beginning cuts in armed forces, conventional arms and military expenditures. Britain, France and Canada were reported as being favorable to the USA proposal, but at the time of this writing, no reaction had come from the Russian delegation.

This session of the Subcommittee on Disarmament is in response to the vote of the Tenth General Assembly December 16, urging this subcommittee to resume its work giving priority to such "confidence building" ideas as those proposed by President Eisenhower and Marshall Bulganin, and urging them to give priority to any other currently feasible plans for disarmament.

FRIEND OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN AWARD MADE TO UNICEF DIRECTOR

One of the quiet, effective leaders in the UN family, Maurice Pate, Executive Director of UNICEF, was recognized in mid-March as "Friend of the World's Children," in an award made by the U.S. Committee for UNICEF. It came at a time when he was quietly appealing for higher goals in combatting some of the world's killers and cripplers such as malaria, yaws and tuberculosis. Nearly one eighth of the world's people still have serious attacks of malaria every year and millions of children waste and die from yaws and tuberculosis. Voluntary contributions of \$19 million, a slight increase over last year is currently expected. However, an eventual budget of \$30 million is seen as a basic budget necessary to help the nations of the world build health in more adequate programs for their children. In light of the wealth of some nations, the record of UNICEF's achievements, and the needs of the world's children, this seems like a relatively attainable goal. Records for 1955 show that it benefitted 32,500,000 children and mothers last year in its nutrition and disease-control campaigns. According to Director Pate, this was an increase of 15 percent over the preceding year.

Here are reasons to do some Halloween thinking early to plan for a UNICEF Trick or Treat Program in your local community. For information on setting up or improving such a program in your community write: UNICEF, United Nations, New York 17, N. Y.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING? REPORTS OF COMMUNIONS, COUNCILS AND CHURCHES

CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINAR: 270 churchmen (men and women) from 32 states and the District of Columbia spent four days in Washington, D. C., in February, at the annual Churchmen's Washington Seminar, sponsored by 17 communions in cooperation with the Washington Office of the National Council. The program started with "Religious Motivation for Policy Concern," an address by Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, president of United Church Women. Features of the program included: Outstanding Washington correspondents speaking on current issues; a discussion by the Director of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, on how policy is made; briefings at the State Department and at a dozen other government agencies as delegates chose; visits with Senators and Representatives; committee hearings and Congressional sessions. Among special topics discussed were: Our foreign policy, especially in relation to Asia; the role of the military in our nation; the program of the two parties in the 1956 campaign, with a spokesman representing each party; Christian responsibility for civic and political life. The delegates met at the beginning and at the end of the seminar in their denominational groups to become more familiar with the organization and program of their own communion in matters of Christian social action, and to discover ways and means of carrying out more effective programs in their communion, state, local community and church as a result of experiences of the Seminar.

METHODIST STUDENT SEMINAR ON CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP: Spending three days in New York at United Nations Headquarters and three days in Washington, a group of more than 50 top quality, representative Methodist students from across the country held their annual Christian Citizenship Seminar in February. Quality and representative character of the students are assured by the process of having a limit of two nominations selected by a process of elimination within each state, chosen for their all around record and also, where possible, for their responsibilities in the Methodist Student Movement. This Seminar has set an enviable record of achievement through the years for the influence which it has had on Christian young people moving into positions of strategic political and public responsibility. A program somewhat similar to the Churchmen's Seminar, with the addition of significant sessions at the UN and at the U.S. Mission to the UN, featured outstanding speakers. The students conducted their own worship sessions. This project is under the sponsorship of the Methodist Student Movement in cooperation with several other agencies of the Methodist Church; advisor is Miss Dorothy Nyland, Secretary of Student Work of the Women's Division; the student co-chairmen for this year were: Erin Turner of Georgia and William Geiser of Pennsylvania, both students at Drew Theological Seminary. The Coordinator for the week's program was Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell of the Department of International Affairs, NCC. Throughout the program in briefings, talks and orientation sessions, students representing over 30 states, participated in unusually inspiring experience. Such groups and programs give hopeful evidence of student Christian responsibility in economic, political, social and international affairs.

CHURCH GROUPS, INCLUDING CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, ASK REFUGEE SPEED-UP: Representatives of Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish and other relief agencies appealed to President Eisenhower to "humanize" and speed up immigration procedures. In a letter to the White House in late February, they asked immediate action on 3 administrative changes and 10 amendments to the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. It was sent by the Committee on Refugee Relief Program of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies. It notes that the Refugee Relief Act is to expire at the end of 1956 and says the proposed changes are needed to prevent the barring of nearly 100,000 persons because of "cumbersome" processing. Of 209,000 refugees eligible under the Act, less than 60,000 have so far reached the U.S.A.

Action for the Churches now: Support such measures as the above by correspondence and contacts; get new assurances in for refugees -- deadline is the last of May!

RESOURCES: BOOKLET: RECORDING: KIT: RADIO CONTEST MATERIALS

BOOKLET: Your Christian Conscience and American Abundance by Leland Gordon and Reinhold Niebuhr, two papers prepared especially for background and orientation purposes for the delegates for the third National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, April 12-15, 1956, Pittsburgh, Penna. Dr. Gordon, Professor of Economics at Denison University, is widely recognized as an eminent authority in his field and particularly consumer economics, and Dr. Niebuhr, Professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, is noted for his writing and leadership in Christian social action. In addition to their papers, there is a section of two series of Questions for Discussion of Conference Topics by Church Groups, and a bibliography of Suggested Reading. Excellent study material for use by individuals, classes and discussion groups. 46 pages. Price: 35 cents; add for postage at rate of 15¢ per dollar; 5¢ per dollar over five dollars. Order from: Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, 120 East 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.

RECORDING: On World Trade. For programming, a high fidelity, L-P record. One side is a talk by President Charles H. Percy, of the Bell and Howell Co., the other, a talk about GATT and OTC by Charles P. Taft. Many church groups concerned with international affairs could well learn more about these issues. The record is available at a cost of \$1.50 from the Committee for a National Trade Policy, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

KIT: The twenty-sixth anniversary of Pan American Day will be April 14. It will mark the sixty-sixth year of continuous inter-American Cooperation in social economic and cultural fields, according to the Pan American Union. A kit of material is available with suggestions, "How to Celebrate Pan American Day," information on "Pan Americanism at Work," educational material, "Introduction to the American Republics," and photos of the 21 American republics. Write: Pan American Union, General Secretariat, Washington 6, D. C.

RADIO CONTEST MATERIALS: "Action for Peace in Our Town," a national educational participation program is under way with materials distributed to radio stations and to more than 100 national organizations with local community affiliates. Sponsored by The Institute for International Order, 11 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N. Y. An attractive folder of material is available from the above address to help your organization participate in this project. Prizes totalling \$2,000 will be divided among eight winners for the best 15-minute local radio programs produced in the U.S.A. under the subject "Action for Peace in Our Town." The programs must be produced in cooperation with a local community organization which has as one phase of its program the promotion of world peace or international understanding. The contest will close June 30 and entries must be received by July 15, 1956 at the Institute at the above address.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR: Mr. Alden Eberly, Boston YMCA, writes - "The Newsletter is excellent! I wish every churchman would read it." (So do we! Ed.) To aid that process, herewith is a subscription blank for people seeing the Newsletter for the first time and wishing to subscribe, or for our confirmed readers wishing to send in a subscription for a friend who would appreciate sharing the values of this publication: DEPT. OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 297 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

HEREWITH IS A SUBSCRIPTION FOR A Christian Newsletter on International Affairs FOR ONE YEAR (10 ISSUES). \$1.00 is enclosed. (Please enclose payment with order, to save bookkeeping and mailing costs.)

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